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The accuracy of the figures in Table 1 is, of course, still open to question. Doubt may easily be cast upon these figures on the basis of any one or all of the following facts: (1) the 1953 census-taking was not thorough; in certain areas where direct counting of noses was not possible, undefined "indirect" methods (possibly estimates) were employed; (2) before the results of the census were announced, the responsible Communist quarters had already started a campaign to "correct the undesirable habit of filing false reports," and the Bureau of Statistics had begun to criticize the lack of reliability in the statistical work at various government levels.[2] Until 1952, the estimates on China's population cited by Communist officials had remained under 500 million. Early in 1953, several months before the census figures were completely tabulated, the same Communist officials stepped up their estimates to about 550 million. Thus there is ground for suspicion that the Peking government might have made a conscious effort to exaggerate the figures for propaganda purposes.[3]

However, until substantial evidence is discovered to justify suspicion of fabrication, the figures in Table 1 will stand as the result of the first and hereto only direct nation-wide census. Relative reliability seems to be supported by the following points: (1) They generally tally with the figures on the electorate, delegates and their representation in the general election for which the census was initiated.[4] (2) The fact that

2. Jen-min Jih-pao [People's Daily] , Peking, Mar. 31, 1954, p. 1.

3. Tsui-chin Ch'i-ko-yüeh Lai Chung-yao Fei-ch'ing Tsung-ho Pao-kao [Comprehensive Report on Important Developments in Communist China in the Last Seven Months] , Taipei, The Sixth Section, Central Committee, the Nationalist Party, 1954, pp. 22-23.

4. Yüan-li Wu, An Economic Survey of Communist China. New York, Bookman Assoc., 1956, pp. 13-22.

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scattered reports on the basic-level elections are available, roughly covering all parts of China, should serve to indicate the geographic extent to which, if not the degree of thoroughness with which, the census-taking was carried out. This thoroughness is unprecedented in China. (3) The Communists as far back as 1949 began their study of population, and it appears possible to say that the Peking regime had exercised considerable discretion in checking the 1953 census against the previously released figures. (4) Only a comparatively small portion of the 1953 population figures (about eight million) was derived from the so-called "indirect method of census-taking." (5) The above cited communique also reported on the review of these figures by the Bureau of Statistics. It states that after rechecking 9 per cent (or 52,950,000) of the total population in a cross-section of many different localities, the duplicates amounted to only 0.139 per cent and those uncounted in the initial registration only 0.255 per cent.

With the above observations and reservations, we will proceed to discuss the population figures in Table 1.

The total number of over 176 million for the Central-South Region is about 30.3 per cent of the total Mainland population. A comparison of the population figures and land areas by regions shows that the Central-South Region is first in population and third in land area. Its density of 151.23 per square kilometer (391.68 per sq. mi.) ranks third. A breakdown by provinces is as follows:

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After convening of the People's Congress at all levels, the provincial governments were busy with census-taking, the registration of voters, elections, meetings of the hsiang congress and congress of the municipality, and the election of the delegates to be sent to the congress on the next higher level. On September 15, 1954, the National People's Congress met for the first time, and on September 20, 1954, the new Constitution was passed. The principles of organization for provincial governments and local governments were formulated. A statute for the organization of the local People's Congress on all levels and the local People's Council was published, followed by the election of new chairmen and of the members of the provincial government.

A. The Provincial Government

In the post-Constitution period, the provincial governments have been placed on a new basis. Each province has the status of an administrative district under the supervision of the Central People's Government, according to Chinese political tradition. However, there is a point of departure from the traditional system, in that some members of the provincial government are elected locally (see below) and a Provincial People's Congress has a share in the deliverative functions. The term "legislative" which is applied to the National Congress in Peking, does not appear in the section of the Constitution formulating the principles of organization for the provincial government. As a result, the Provincial People's Congress is limited to the function of a deliberative body. Thus each province, according to Article 53 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, becomes an administrative district

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Military and Political Committee sanctioned the organization of workers' "suppression teams"[28] in all organizations and in each street in order to assist the security agencies. These teams inspired terror among the people during the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, and by means of such violent measures public order was gradually established in the cities. In the meantime, the Communists began to tighten census control both in the cities and in the rural areas. The directive on census control, issued by the Government Administration Council in July 1951, restricted the movement of city dwellers.[29] Any resident who wished to move had first to obtain a permit from the security station. Likewise, any person who moved into the district had to report his arrival to the station. Even house guests staying three days or more were required to register. The nationwise census taken in 1953 placed urban residents under stricter vigilance. "Planned purchase and marketing," a form of rationing introduced at the end of 1953, has strengthened security control. The recent institution of a regular system of registration increases the burden of established restrictions.[30]

The Security Committee was first organized in the city during the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement in 1951. Dwellers in a street

28. Yangtze Daily, Feb. 24, 1951, p. 3; ibid., Feb. 11, 1952, p. 1.

29. Ibid., July 18, 1951, p. 4.

30. Directive of State Council in People's Daily, July 3, 1955, p. 1.

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As a whole, the fiscal policy of the Communist government has been more unfavorable to industry and trade than to agriculture. During the five-year period under consideration, private enterprise in industry and trade not only has had to bear a great burden of the increasing expenditure of government, but also has been forced to accept stiff competition from government enterprises, which, according to Communist policy, will ultimately monpolize all the important trade and industries in the country.

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On the expenditure side, military outlay constituted 41. 5 per cent of total government expenditure in 1950 and 1951, respectively. Since 1952, because of the truce in Korea, the relative importance of the military outlay has been substantially reduced. In 1954, it was only 21. 1 per cent of the year's total expenditure. The outlay for economic construction has become the leading item on the debit side of the government account.

In making these comparisons, several observations should be noted. First, the military expenditures as listed in the records of the Communist government do not include salaries and maintenance of military personnel, which are classified as government administrative expenses. Military outlays listed in the budgets of the Nationalist Government, on the other hand, consisted mainly of such salary and maintenance payments. If the definition of military expenditure were broadened to include such outlays, and if one-half of the administrative expenses listed in the Communist budget were for the payment of military personnel and administration, then the military expenditure of the Communist government for the years 1950-52 would have been as tabulated here:

Year	Ratio of Military Expenditures to Total Government Expenditures (In per cent)	
1950	51.11	
1951	49.83	
1952	32.15	
1953	29.45	(budget estimate)
1954	30.06	
1955	32.98	(budget estimate)

In the fiscal report for 1953 the military and government administration expenditures were lumped together under one item. It is rather difficult to separate the military from the non-military outlays on the basis mentioned above. For this reason, the budgetary estimates, where these outlays were separately listed, were used in this tabulation.

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A second point which should be noted concerning the military expenditure of the Communist government is that a part of its expenditure for economic construction might well be considered military rather than economic. In the budget of the Nationalist Government, for example, outlays for developing aircraft-manufacturing industries, ammunition industries, and so forth were usually classified as military expenses, whereas they would probably be considered as economic outlays in the Communists' report.

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A third point to be noted is that, if the depreciation charges and outlays for maintenance and replacement in government enterprises were excluded from government receipt and expenditure, as should normally be the case, the relative importance of military expenditure for the years under consideration would have been much greater than those shown in the fiscal reports.

Even allowing for these adjustments, the fact that government outlays for economic, social, and educational purposes has been substantially increased under the Communist regime is obvious when compared with the conditions under the Nationalist government. Whether these expenditures have actually contributed to improving the economic and social welfare of the people is, of course, another question entirely.